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121 in the growth of ecological thinking, though this history is older.

But when we say that it has paralleled ecological thinking, we do not mean that the approach should be identical or even similar. In ecology, the plant or animal, as an individual or in association, is studied as part of the community of plants and animals, whose own growth may be encouraged or hindered by the growth and competition from others. When we study human cultures, this functional approach breaks down. It is not enough to show the context of each cultural trait in the whole, indispensable as this may be. This might produce a satisfying interpretation but it would suffer from important omissions. These are the history of the culture and the periods of contact and isolation that may have characterized it and the changes that the culture has made in the physical environment in which it is placed. No place in the world offers such fruitful illustrations over so great an area and over so long a period of time as Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean. The great changes in the soils due to paddy culture and the long fertilization from human excreta and plant residues, soil erosion, deforestation, the minute changes of land from mountain tops to the cultivated valleys can be found in abundance here.

121 This study of three villages on the island of Okinawa is concerned
181 with many of these themes. As the inquiry progressed and during the period
182 of reflection that followed the collection of materials, it seemed that the most significant characteristic was the existence of the family system, and that this had meaning not only in the places where one would expect it, such as family and daily life, and in the desire to respect the memory of the dead and to guard against extinction of the family line, but that its influence was the key to an understanding of the way in which the culture had changed and modified the natural environment and utilized the resources available to it.

The connecting link between the family system, on the one hand, and the use of the natural environment, on the other, is the system of inheritance, and through the inheritance system on land tenure and land use. And when speaking of land tenure and land use, the reference is not merely to the agricultural land, but to all land, including the forest soils of the north, the uncultivated land scattered over the island, but so vital in its production of grasses to the livelihood of peoples.

121 One of the most striking aspects of this culture is its dependence on
181 plants, not only for food, but for uses other than food. Houses, their
824 roofs and sidings, plank floorings, excepting only the stones; fibres or wood for sandals or clogs; grasses, cane stalks, shrubbery for fuels; imported cottons for clothing, which have replaced an earlier dependence on reeds or banana leaves; fibres and reeds for rugs and floor mats; rice stalks or other grasses for making carrying baskets; rope of palm or of rice stalks; wooden poles, are but a few illustrations of this close dependence on plant life. It is a culture based on the utilization of plants for all purposes to which are added the multifarious and skillful employment of stone and of water.

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1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system.

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation.

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself--due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility.

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered.

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

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In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist.

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But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition.

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The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come.

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1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property.

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment.

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification.

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36.

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grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In In Hanashiro, The genya
Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

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In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

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If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the villages. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

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Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

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3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it.

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship.

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of

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for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 262

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Conclusion

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertiliser, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families. 182●

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing. [463] [887] [857]

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This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

[4] It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be 572 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village, 526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.[5]

526 About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the [875] organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and [534] clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Hinatogawa, young men from 17 to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed [262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person [576] entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Hinatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

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a running mate was vigorously applauded. The infant on her back was sleeping! 526

Four teams, the village officials, the teachers, high school students, and members of the Young Men's Association competed in a relay race. Later the teachers, and the mayor, participated in a rope and loop race. A rope about 20 feet long was tied to a stake driven in the ground. On the other end of the rope was a large loop. The trick is to run from a starting point, put the loop over the head, let it drop down and then step out. In the meantime, the opposing team has been trying to prevent the player from getting the loop by jerking the rope away, or throwing it at a distance. Other comedy events based on groping blindfolded to selected goals or objects were part of the program.

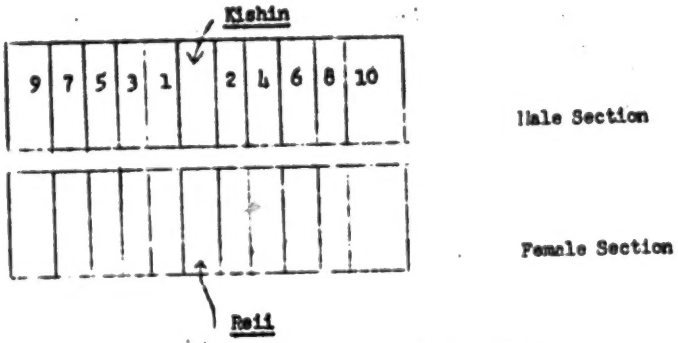
The races produce the greatest excitement, especially in the inter-village competition. A team from each village competes in a relay and runners representing their village participate in various dashes. In these competitive events, the old women become very excited. [628]

On this occasion the township gives a present to all people present who are 70 years old or over. The gift is now a plain towel; formerly the towel was embroidered with characters expressing wishes for a long life, but this practice has been abandoned for reasons of economy. [431]

The prizes, presented by the mayor to the contestants, are modest and generously given. The young men get four cigarettes, the women a paper of tooth powder, and the children, small school notebooks. The prize winners line up; each one steps up, makes a bow, receives his prize, lifts it up slightly, a typical Okinawan gesture of thanks noted by Basil Hall in 1816, bows again and retires. [516]

Though it centers around the school, the athletic meet is one of the strong forces bringing both families and village communities together. It would be hard to exaggerate the interest in the meet or the work that goes into its preparation. The fact that the mayor of the township, his staff, the village headmen, the principals of high schools, every parent and all the children who could possibly come, were present is enough to show its importance and vitality. 526 182

of wood lacquered red and lettered in gold. The frame has an upper section for the male dead and a lower for the female. The date of death is written on the back of each tablet. In the center of each section is a strip with a Chinese character written on it. The upper or male section has the character, kishin, with a meaning similar to returning to the source (moto ni kaeru). The lower or female section has the character reii, suggesting that your spirit is in this place. The tablets are placed in an order, the first to the left of the middle character, the second to the right, so that the last placed ones are toward the outer edge.



(Arrangement of the Memorial Tablets (ihai)

The frequent occasions throughout the year when devotions are made at the altar have already been described in many of the preceding pages. These can be summarized by saying that offerings and prayers are made (1) to commemorate important dates in an individual's life, like birth, the first birthday, engagement, marriage, death, and the anniversary of a death, (2) during holidays and festivals in which honoring the dead and thanksgiving are dominant themes, and (3) at times of individual and private religious worship or prayer. Some women pray daily after placing a cup of tea, a bowl of rice and a burning charcoal stick on the altar. Others observe the 1st and the 15th of the lunar month.

This household Buddhism, centering around the altar, has no institutional basis. There are no Buddhist temples in any of the villages. Family worship at the altar is both an honoring of the ancestral dead and also, it would seem, an acceptance of the merciful and humane doctrines of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism traditionally is the religion of consolation at death. The fact that ancestor worship takes place at the Buddhist altar, however, does not mean that this is a religion in a doctrinal sense. One has been grafted on to the other.

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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in the toilet.

Religious beliefs shade into other aspects of village life, such as honoring the dead, the obligations of the family system, and the celebration of public holidays and festivals. The war has hastened the decline of many of the old beliefs we have been describing. The inability of the old, during the war and its aftermath, to communicate a body of belief to the newer generation has meant that now, even more than before, religious beliefs and customs are dying out rapidly and henceforth will appear only in vague outlines to inquiring scholarship.

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CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past.

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognised.

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land.

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as gauged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification.

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtze river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the *sanjinsō* or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious influence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins, while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews, nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a stranger may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy. 601 [171] [576] [576]

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system, which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms. It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups. 601 171 [182]

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kinship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending 601 177 192

753 177 [542] that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okinawans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experiment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are willing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explanation, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 177 769 182 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the implications of the challenge.

753 177 757 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the uncritical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place. [846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot weather. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced because it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demonstrated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that because the blood circulates it is no more"bad" at one place than another. The concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to religion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of [181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.